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ABSTRACT

This paper describes the folkloristic and literary theories centered on the traditional narrative that have a bearing on the Turko-Danish Fairytale Project. These theories were incorporated into the Fairytale Project because traditional prose tales (of which the fairy tale is one of the most prominent forms) are a genre that exists in both oral and written literature in most parts of the world, and any assumptions concerning the literary fairy tale should take into account its occurrence and evaluation within the oral tradition. The fairy tale was chosen for study in the project because, synchronically and diachronically appealing to its audience and readers, it is best suited for establishing the collective versus the individual nature of reader response. The working hypothesis of the project reveals three intersecting circles, or one circle with three intersecting facets, in reader response to literature at large: universal (cross cultural), individualistic, and communal (culture specific). It also reveals a triangle, the components of which are historically related (oral literature, written literature, and the audience/readers). The paper describes how the project's hypothesis (dealing with literature at large and the traditional prose tale) was formulated. It further reveals how the theoretical coverage in the field has been insufficient, and explains how the broadly based empirical study centers on readers' response to this genre in order to illuminate the individual, communal, and universal nature of literature. (HTH)

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FAIRYTALE

An Interdisciplinary Turco-Danish Study of the Collective v. the Individual Nature of the Response to Literature

Report No. 6

Title: THEORETICAL FRAME AND THE WORKING HYPOTHESIS

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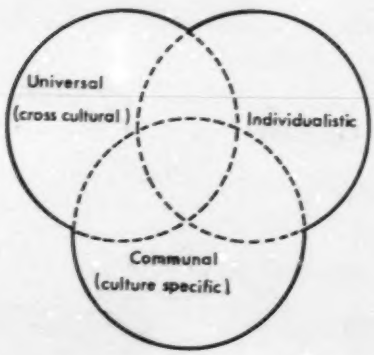
A- Purpose

The following report is a summary of the folkloristic and literary theories centered on traditional narratives in so far as they have a bearing on the Fairytale project. The reason for incorporating the folkloristic theories into this study is that traditional prose tale (one of the most prominent modes of which is the fairy tale) is a genre which exists both in oral and in written literature in most parts of the world, and any assumptions concerning the literary fairy-tale should take into account its occurence and evaluation within the oral tradition.

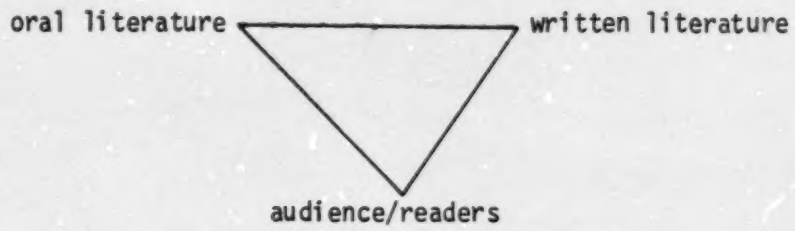
Our design in chosing the fairytale as our point of departure is that this type of literature, one that seems to have been synchronically and diachronically appealing to its audience and readers, is best suited for our purpose of establishing the collective versus the individual nature of reader response (ref. to Report No. 3 p.4).

B- The Working Hypothesis

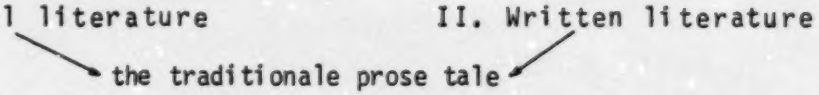
The working hypothesis gives us three intersecting circles or one circle with three intersecting facets, in reader's response to literature at large.



It also gives us a triangle whose components are historically related



and a genre which is recorded in both forms of literature in different parts of the world.



The following discussion is based on an attempt to show how the second half of the hypothesis (that dealing with literature at large and the traditional prose tale) is formulated; in what sense the theoretical coverage in this field has been insufficient, and how a broadly based empirical study centered on reader's response to this genre can illuminate the individual, the communal, and the universal nature of literature set forth in the first part of the hypothesis.

C- Oral Versus Written Literature and the Traditional Prose Tale

Oral tales have frequently been taken down from the lips of unlettered taletellers and have been incorporated into great literary collections. In contrary fashion, fables of Aesop, anecdotes from Homer, and saints' legends, not to speak of fairytales read from Perrault, Grimm or Arabian Nights have entered the oral stream and all their association with the written or printed page has been forgotten. Often a story is taken from the people, recorded in a literary

document, carried across continents or preserved through centuries and then retold to a humble entertainer who adds it to his repertory. (Stith Thompson, The Folktale (rpt. University of California Press, 1977), pp. 3-5; Linda Dégh Folktales and Society (Indiana University Press, 1969), p.45). But the philology of oral tradition must necessarily be different from the philology of a written text. When a tale is told to an audience or even to a listener its effects are no longer produced indirectly by association with words written or printed on the page but directly through facial expression, gesture, repetition and recurrent patterns. On the other hand, when one moves back from the context-oriented approaches of the folklorists where performance and presentation is of fundemental importance to the text-oriented studies of literary scholars one realizes that there is one major distinction between oral and written narration at large. Orally transmitted narratives generally change in accordance with the change in the audience, teller and occation of story telling therefore they exist in the form of variants or versions whereas written narratives tend toword singleness, permanence and in most cases "authenticity" (Refer to Report No: 3, pp. 1-4; Gyula Ortutay Principles of Oral Transmission in Folk Culture pp. 175-76; Linda Dégh and Andrew Vázsonyi Folklore: Performance and Communication (The Hague, 1975) pp. 209-211; Lauri Honko Methods in Folk-Narrative Research: Their Status and Future, pp. 25-28). Ruth Finnegan cites a number of instances of oral performance in Somali communities where composition takes place prior to presentation and is therefore based on memorization and unlike tha majority of orally transmitted works is fixed. Yet even she notes that the specific mode of delivery during each performance is still a pivotal factor in the reception of that tale by the Somali audience (Ruth Finnegen, Oral Poetry (Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 73-75).

In dealing with modern written literature we find that originality of theme, plot and characterization are crucial for the author and the reader. The securing of patent rights for the composers of written texts in the twentieth century is a manifest sign of the importance given to authenticity and uniqueness of production. Traditional literature, however, differs from modern literature in its claims to originality. In contrast to the modern writer's striving after originality of plot and treatment the writer of a traditional tale is proud of his ability to hand on that which he has received. He usually desires to impress his readers or hearers with the fact that he is bringing them something that has the stamp of good authority. So it was until at least the end of the Middle Ages with writers like Chaucer, Gower, Malory etc. who carefully quoted authorities for their plots-and sometimes even invented originals so as to dispel the suspician that some new and unwarrented story was being foisted on the public (ref. to Report No: 3, pp. 1-2; Stith Thompson The Folktale, p.4).

On the other hand not all traditional narratives, despite the potency of their source have survived the changing aesthetic, social and ethical norms of the times, and not all traditional narratives have been popular in more than one or two communities. The legends of the Holy Grail, for example, have been quite alien to moslem people even at the time of their vigorous popularity in the West and Europeans have been unacquainted with the heroic tales of Köroğlu, an unusually popular Turkish folk hero who is said to have lived in Central Anatolia in the sixteenth century. One of the few forms of traditional prose narrative, written or oral, which has come to be handed down through the years in a large number of countries is the "fairytale" ("märchen") therefore among the traditional narrative modes fairytale is one of the obvious choice for those who want to establish the collective versus

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the individual nature of reader response.

D- Fairytale and Other Forms of Traditional Prose Narrative

The most frequent of all concepts to be met when one studies traditional prose narratives on a world-wide bases is that which the Germans call "märchen". There is no word in English that is its equivalent though the term is usually translated as "fairytale". The French use "conte porpulaire" to identify this kind of tale. However both "fairytale" and "conte populaire" are misleading since in the case of the English word the great majority of tales of this genre contain no fairies and the French term is so general that it can be applied to almost any kind of story. The German "märchen" is more precise and descriptive, and is fairly well agreed on by folklorists and literary scholars alike.

A "märchen" is a tale of some length involving a succession of episodes. It moves in an unreal world without difinite locality and time, and is filled with the marvelous. The story is generally centered around one hero who, in a series of adventures, learns to distinguish between illusion and reality, to cope with the world at large, and find a place for himself in the "cosmos". The "märchen" hero is frequently alone but either by luck or by instinct or by the use of his wit he finds the means to communicate with the rest of the universe; he comes to know how to give and receive help from all around him, and in most cases attains a satisfactory status-which can be physical and/or psychological. (Refer to report no: 3, pp. 8-10; Max Luthi Once upon a Time: On the Nature of Fairy Tales (Bloomington, 1970), pp.135-46; Bruno Bettelheim, The Uses of Enchantment (Penguin, 1978), pp.155).

Near to "märchen" in general structure indeed sharing most of its characteristics is the "novella". The action in this form of oral narrative occurs in a real world at a com-

paratively more definite time and place.. Literary examples of this form may be seen in the Arabian Nights, and in a large majority of fairytale collections. The distinction between "novella" and "märchen" is difficult to draw in fact folk scholars like Katherine Briggs, Pertev Boratav, and Lauritz Bødker refer to this type of prose narrative as the "highest literary perfection of the folktale".

The third group of stories close to "märchen" are "animal tales". Animals play a large role in most popular tales. "Animal Tales" as a distinct group of stories are usually designed to show the cleverness of one animal and the stupidity of another. Structurally they are less complex than "märchen" and their scope of reference is not as wide. Their interest often lies in the humor of the deceptions or the absurd predicaments the animal's stupidity leads him into. When the "animal tale" is told with an acknowldged moral purpose it becomes a "fable". But the tendency toward ascribing human qualities to animals appear in all traditional prose narratives consequently "animal tales", like the "novella," turn out to be no different from "märchen" if they follow the same pattern and adapt the same style.

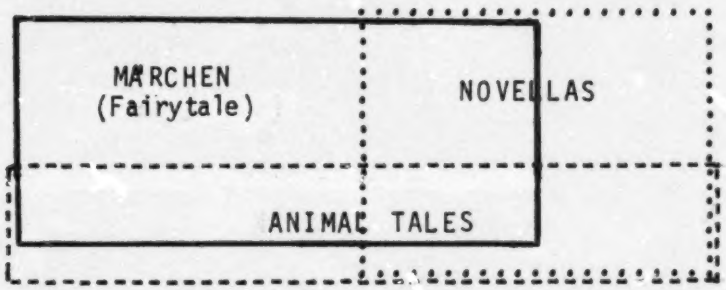
"Folktale" which is usually identified with "märchen" and is used as a more popular generic term is, in many parts of the world, a traditional narrative which is in effect more local and more culturally specific in its appeal than the latter. In countries like Turkey even the narrators of "folktales" are distinct from those of "märchen", "novella" and "animal tales". They are professional bards who undergo a long training and who narrate either stories of love or of heroism. In Europe where the difference between folktales and "märchen" is not easily definable "märchen" is referred to by some as "literary folktales". (Jack Zipes, Breaking the Magic Spell (Heinemann, 1979), pp. 4-5). However as Reider Christiansen in using the

phrase "international folktales" for "märchen" explicitly indicates the main distinction between "folktales" and "märchen" lies in "märchen"s universality of appeal as opposed to the "folktales" local and cultural bias.

Another general narrative pattern used all over then world is the "legend". This form of traditional tale purports to be an account of an extraordinary happening which is beleived to have occured by someone, somewhere, sometime. (Refer to Report no. 3 p.5; Linda Dégh and Andrew Vázsonyi "Legend and Belief" in Folklore Genres ed. Dan. Ben-Amos (Austin and London, 1976), pp. 116-19). It may recount the story of something which has attached itself to a locality or a well-known hero, or a saint or an event. Local legends often explain the existence of some hill or cliff or tells why a certain river meanders over a landscape. But because legends are deeply rooted in social reality, their appreciation is not only territorially limited but also influenced by age, sex, religion, occupational groups, and the like. Hence although the legend genre is cross-culturally popular the stories written in this form are distinct and different from one another. Each is dictated by the social and historical conditions in which it is created. Malory's Arthurian legends, for example are quite different from the Arthurian legends of Chrétien de Troyes. Moreover neither version is known in the East.

Short anecdotes, jokes, riddles, jests and the like are traditional narrative forms which are outside the scope of this study because their content and form does not lend themselves to studies to be conducted in the field of reader response. But these forms frequently blend with and are internalized by the traditional narrative genres "märchen", "novella", "animal tales," "folktales" and "legends".

Since the line between the first three of these genres is difficult to draw, in fact all forms of traditional narrative merge into each other with amazing facility, and oral versions may display the same story being told in more than one particular genre, in this study we will refer to them as one, using the term "märchen" as a combinant for all three. The way these genres relate to one another can be represented in a diagram as follows:



Those "novellas" like Boccaccio's or "animal tales" like Chaucer's "Nun's Priest's Tale" which do not quite fall within the scope of "märchen" are not relevant for our purpose. They are too original and culture oriented (and definitely carry the specific stamp of their authors) to be called traditional prose narratives which are cross-culturally appealing.

E- The History and The Modern Status of "Märchen"

"Märchen" constitutes one of the oldest narrative genres. It has been in existence for hundreds of years. Indeed the oral art of tale telling is far older than history, and it is not confined to one continent or one civilization (Stith Thompson, The Folktale, p.5). "Märchen" also appears in writing quite early in history. The earliest datable version of the Cinderella story, for example occurs in a Chinese book written about 850-860 A.D. (Iona and Peter Opie, The Classic Fairy Tales (Oxford, 1974), p.120). This story is still known, recited and read in many parts of the world (China, Japan, Turkey, Italy, France, Germany, Denmark, England etc. - See

Aarne - Thompson Type Index Tale type 510). Sleeping Beauty, another tale which enjoys wide popularity is first recorded, as far as present folktale scholarship can tell, in France, in 1528. (Iona and Peter Opie, p.83). The first written versions of the well-known tales Beauty and the Beast, and Little Red Ridinghood go back to 1634 and 1695 respectively (Iona and Peter Opie, p. 137, 93). For many centuries "märchen" were transmitted orally in a number of variants as well as in writing in the form of fixed literary texts. However it was not until the end of the seventeenth century in Europe with the spread of literacy in this continent that "märchen" became an acknowledged literary genre. (Zipes, pp. 2-14; William Bascom, "The Forms of Folklore Prose Narratives", Journal of American Folklore, 78 (1965), pp. 3-30; Linda Dégh "Folk Narrative" in Folklore and Folklife, ed. Richard Dorson (Chicago, 1972), pp. 53-84). Accordingly during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the content and the audience of fairytales in Europe underwent some change. "Märchen" were mostly, revised to suit the attitudes, and values of the rising classes. (Roger Sale, Fairy Tales and After (Harvard, 1978), pp. 26, 30-31; Zipes, p.15). Their aesthetic features came to be differentiated more and more from "ordinary" written literature as the latter moved further in the direction of representational reflection of life and reality. As realistic, indeed naturalistic mode of narration (the underlying philosphy of the representational technique) came to be highly esteemed the presentational technique of "märchen" appeared to be pedantic, unrealistic and therefore undesirable for the western readers. But this genre continued to be popular amoung the illeterate classes and commoners who had no pretentions to the newly developing intellectual and scientific mode of thinking. Nevertheless because positivism, causality and evolution were the defining features of this era and because in such an intellectual climate there was no place in the adult mind for "märchen" the seventeenth and eighteenth

century bourgeoisie came to regard "märchen" as children's literature. Children of all classes became ardent listeners or readers of "märchen". This lead to the widespread misconception that tales of this type are in fact children's literature.

Indeed, fairytales could not have originated as children's literature not only because children and childhood, at least in our sense, did not exist until recent centuries (Philip Ariès, Centuries of Childhood, trans by Robert Baldick (Vintage Books, 1962), pp.19-40; Sales, pp. 26-7), in addition in those parts of the world where the oral tradition is not yet extinct fairytales are narrated to a mixed audience of children and adults alike. (Linda Degh, pp.191-92; Roman Jacobson, "On Russian Fairy Tales" in Russian Fairy Tales (London, 1975), pp.631-35). Besides when analized closely, from an artistic point of view, one cannot help agreeing with Francis Lee Utley's argument that most surviving traditional narratives (the majority of which may be classified as "märchen") are "little masterpieces" invoking in their audience/reader the powerful emotions of pity, fear, joy and excitement-the toucnstones of all literary master works. (Francis L.Utley, "Oral Genres as a Bridge to Written Literatures" in Folklore Genres, pp.9-14).

It is true that the content of the written tales change in accordance with the ideas, values and attitudes of each century. They come to uphold either the virtues of the Enlightenment; reason, order, and stability; or they advocate a romantic escape into the imaginative the fantastic world of magic. In the early nineteenth century these tales are, for example revered by the romantic artists as the creations of primitive minds, whereas in the later nineteenth century they are rewritten to emphasize the moralistic views of the Victorians where the good is always rewarded and the bad punished. (Zipes, pp. 1-19; Sale, pp. 24-38). In sohrt although "märchen", like all the other literary genres,

reflect the ideology of a given historical epoch and display the dominant social values and norms of that period and that specific community, historical evidence proves that their appeal has been much more universal and diachronic than the literary works belonging to other genres. (Even if we accept the possibility that they may not have appealed equally to all classes). Hence despite the fact that the literary "märchen" is, actually, only one genre of literature it has a traditional and cross-cultural aspect which differentiates it from the rest of literature. Moreover with the growing awareness of different artistic forms of expression among today's reading public, presentational technique of narration has regained its esteem and "märchen"s appeal to grown-up readers has begun to be recognized (Lŭthi, 135-47; Zipes, 128-59).

F- Survey of the Folkloristic and Literary Theories Related to "Märchen".

The historical evidence which brings to light the "near-identity" of "märchen" known, recited and read in widely differing societies have lead a number of folklorists and mythologists to attempt to explain the inception of the identical features in them. The results of their studies inspired scholars from other disciplines to pursue vigorous research in this field and a number of schools, or trends of thought, may be said to have emerged from their divergent views. The appraiser of theoretical folklore today will find that the approach to and analysis of the subject of "märchen" indeed reflect, in the majority of cases, the attitudes observed in the study of literature at large. But because the people working solely in the field of folklore are still in a sense pioneers (involved mostly with the task of collecting data and formulating new theories in accordance with their new findings), it is not always appropriate to take their statements on a par with more established critical schools. In addition our project endeavors to analyze and evaluate the reader's response

to all narrative fiction ("märchen" being selected only because of its seemingly wide and long lasting attraction). Hence a survey of all the established critical schools of literature is pivotal for establishing the sort of research that has been conducted and the theories so far formulated to explain the dynamics of aesthetic appeal. Such a study hopes to display to some extent in what way each major theory fails to be comprehensive and how an empirical study may clarify some of the contraversial attitudes put forth and the conflicting assumptions made in this field.

1. Comparative Approach

One prominent school of thought reduced all traditional narratives to heavenly phenomena, another and rival group beheld in them the surviving relics of savage customs and beliefs. Suspicious of speculative interpretations of this kind a third (and still influencial) group turned to patient accumulation and cataloguing of texts. Stith Thompson's Motif-Index of Folk Literature is one of the monumental products of this last group in which the basic elements of folk traditions are isolated and arranged into an ingenious work of universal reference. Nevertheless even those comparative folklorists who have dedicated their efforts to reconstructing the history and migration of internationaly known tales have not escaped the necessity for framing theoretical concepts to explain processes of origin, charge and transmission. Consequently two main schools of thought which base their attitude to and evaluation of the traditional narratives on the question of origin may be observed among the nineteenth and twentieth century folklore scholars.

a) Solar Mythologists (based on polygenesis)*

This theory is founded by Max Müller in England during

* The terms "polygenesis" and "monogenesis" are borrowed from Alan Dundes, The Study of Folklore, pp. 53-54. Polygenesis is the view that the same item of folklore seen in different parts of the world at the same time or at different times must have originated independently. Monogenesis, on the other hand, is based on the theory of single origin and diffusion and not independent origin.

the second half of the nineteenth century. Müller moved from Germany to England at the age of twenty-six and established himself at Oxford University for the rest of his life. Among his students and opponents are Andrew Lang. John Fiske, George W.Cox, Robert Brown, and Daniel Brinton.

Müller arrived at his solar interpretation of myths and folktales through comparative philology. He postulated a 'mythopoeic' age when 'truly noble conceptions' of the Aryan gods first arose. This age occurred, according to him, while language could not convey abstract notions. Consequently, he claimed, the confusion of the mythopoeic thougt resulted from the 'disease of language'. Mythopoeic man construted his pantheon around the sun, the dawn, and the sky. In comparing Aryan with non-Aryan myths Müller remained ever faithful to philological principles and the solar viewpoint. If myths had degenerated into heroic legends, and these into nursery tales, the reflection of the sun still shone, according to him, in Little Red Ridinghood, and Cinderella, and perhaps could be refraced etymologically.

The two most important students and opponents of Müller were Cox and Lang. Cox explained four-fifths of the folklore of Northern Europe in terms of solar mythology. From his point of view legends of death were "blood stained sunsets", stupid demons and ogres were the "dark powers who must be conquered by light-born heroes;" The episodes of heroes hidden in caves reflected the waxing and waning year. The fairytales, too, conformed to the elemental pattern. All the humble heroes who found riches and conquered dragons, whether Boots, or the frog prience or Cinderella were solar deities; Hansel and Gretel were down-children, the god that rewarded the valiant hero was the golden light of the sun. (See Dundes, pp.73-74). Cox recognized common elements in myths, legends, and fairytales,

and understood more perceptively than Müller that a cluster of incidents hung together to form a tale complex-leading the way to type and motif analysis.

Moreover, unlike Müller, Cox claimed that an animistic state of savagery was conductive of mythmaking and that animistic ideas grew from savage thought, not from "confused language". Lang, the other opponent of Müller supported Cox and agreed with Cox's view that fairytales could be both the remains and the sources of myths. In his two-volume study Myth, Ritual, and Religion (1887). Lang declared that "primitive peoples everywhere possessed similar beliefs, tales, and customs which survived in classic Greek myths and in modern peasant lore". (Richard Dorson, "The Eclipse of Solar Mythology", The Study of Folklore, p.61).

According to the eminent American folklorist Richard Dorson the eclipse of the solar theorists, Fiske, Brown and Brinton included, came with the foundation of the Folklore Society in 1878. The steady exposition of their ideas in Folklore Society's journals and memoirs, along with their separate writings drew other scholars into the field. These new-comers refuted the assumptions put forth by the solar mythologists through their own research. Besides, with the developments in the sciences of anthropology and psychology the scholorship gradually came to encourage research in the psychic states of mankind and/or the possible routes of diffusions of the stories by active narrators to different parts of the world. (For further information see Richard Dorson "The Eclipse of Solar Mythology" The Study of Folklore, pp.57-83; Stith Thompson The Folktale pp. 371-75; Max Müller "On the Philosophy of Mythology" Selected Essays on Language, mythology, and Religion (London, 1881) Vol.1. pp. 609-15, 617-23, Andrew Lang "Myths and Mythologists" Nineteenth Century Vol.19 (January 1886), pp. 50-65; Lang "Household Tales: Their Origin, Diffusion, and Relation to the Higher Myths" Intro. to Grimm's Household Tales, ed. Margaret

Hunt (London, 1910) Vol. I. pp. XXIV, XXV, XXXV, XI; George T. Cox An Introduction to the Science of Comparative Mythology and Folklore (London, 1881), pp. 7, 307-09).

b) Historico-Geographic (or The Finn) School (based on monogenesis)

The historico-geographic school based its ideas on the "Migration Theory" founded by Theodor Benfey (Linda Dégh and Andrew Vazsonyi, p.207). The canon of this method demanded from its adherents the amassing of texts of tales which are similar in their basic plots, but different in their particular formulations. The resulting "ur-type" is a hypothetical abstraction deduced statistically from the variants. Scholars measured the extent of modification by following step by step the diffusion of any one story in space and time, in order to trace both the archetype (ur-type) and the narrative's place of origin. In 1913 the Finn Antti Aarne prepared an index identifying major European tale-types. He summarized the technique of text comparison and listed the kinds of alterations that might occur in the "ur-type" in the course of its wonderings without affecting its original plot. The type index was expanded by Stith Thompson in 1928, and again in 1961. Aarne's countryman, Kaarle Krohn, upon these foundations developed in 1926 his famous exposition on the principles of folklore research, Die Folkloristiche Arbeitsmethoden and codified their thesis. (Richard M. Dorson "Current Folklore Theories" Current Anthropology Feb., 1963, 14) pp. 93-94; Linda Dégh and Andrew Vazsonyi, p. 207; Alan Dundes, pp. 243-44).

Seven years after Aarne's first publication of the type index psychologist F.C.Bartlett conducted an experiment to test the laws of transmission by empirical data. He asked twenty subjects, seven female and thirteen male, all undergraduates at the University of Cambridge, to read each a "märchen" and then relate it again after intervals of weeks,

months and even years. From these responses he hypothesized some general principles of change to explain what happened when one individual told the same tale many times. Then he used yet another testing technique where a subject was given a tale and 15-30 minutes later, asked to reproduce it. This reproduction, not the original version was given to the second subject who likewise reproduced it and passed it on. Again 20 subjects were used in the experiment and general principles explaining what happened to fictional material when it was transmitted from one person to another were drawn.

Walter Anderson reran Bartlett's experiment with some modifications. He claimed that he found the key to the equilibrium between the stability and variability of folk narratives, namely the "law of self-correction". Albert Wesselski and Kurt Schier altered and eloborated upon Anderson's experiments using elementary school children as subjects. Wesselski contended that literary versions of a tale exercised an influence on its circulation so powerful as to invalidate any attempts to trace oral transmission. However all these experiments were conducted in the first half of the twentieth century (Bartlett 1920, Anderson 1923, Wesselski, 1931, Schier 1955) and the experiments were severely criticized by others in the field for overlooking a number of elemental factors in the phenomenon of transmission of tales and for trying to arrive at general principles through such artificial and restrictive methods (For a discussion of these experiments see F.C.Bartlett "Some Experiments on the Reproduction of Folk Stories" The Study of Folklore, pp.243-58; Richard Dorson "Current Folklore Theories", Current Anthropology, p. 94; Linda Dégh and Andrew Vazsonyi "The Hypothesis of Multi-conduit transmission in Folklore," Folklore Performance and Communication, pp.209-11; Emma E.Kiefer, Albert Wesselski and Recent Folktale Theories (India University Publications, Folklore Series No. 3, 1947).

According to the premises of the historico-geographic school, whether empirically oriented or not, a tale which has been found in hundreds of oral variants must have originated at one time and in one place by an act of concious invention. Subsequently this tale must have traveled in ever widening arcs from its point of creation. The "wave-like" diffusion of the tale is affected by routes of trade and travel, and possibly by the secondary influence of manuscript and printed texts, but diffusion takes place over an expanding geographical area. The areas of origin of the widely diffused tales prove to be India and Western Europe, with Asia Minor and other zones of Europe as secondary centers of diffusion (See Thompson, The Folktale).

Neverthelees this thesis of this school was even challenged by Carl Wilhelm von Sydow, one of the Folklore Fellows. In his criticism von Sydow pointed out the fallacy of assumptions that oral tradition spreads like the steady current of "a stream in a certain direction" or "in so regular a way as the wave rings on water". (Carl Wilhelm von Sydow, "On the Spread of Tradition", Selected Papers on Folklore (Copenhagen, 1948), pp.10-20). Von Sydow called attention to the importance of the study of "biology of tradition". He emphasized that text analysists did not deal with faithfully recorded folklore items but with abstracted, arbitrary constructions that had nothing to do with reality. All tales have their "active" proponents and "passive" bearers who represent only a limited number of people in every community. What is being transmitted and in what way is highly incidental. Von Sydow believed that local, historical and cultural factors molded an international tale into subtypes or regional oicotypes, as he termed them, and that various kinds of narratives obey different laws for their transmission and spread. A complex "märchen", for example, could hardly spread from village to village since its telling requires special skills and opor-

tunity; its diffusion is also contingent upon the ability of passive bearers carrying it further on.

The Finnish School, however, still remains a dominant force in tale studies. Lauri Honko refers to it as "The evergreen historical-geographical method". Yet there is still little place in the works of its adherents for considerations of style, artistry, of the process of creation and alteration, of the influence of national cultures, the social context and the individual genius of the narrator. Besides, an important fact which is not usually explained by their systems is the dynamics of reception or rejection of a tale by a community. Why a certain tale is borrowed and accepted by a wide variety of people and what constitutes their continued appeal.

2. Psychological Approach

Since the late nineteenth century similarities between the tales came to be attributed by a group of psychologists lead by Freud, Abraham, Rank and Jung, to the notion of a possible psychic unity of man. Psychoanalytical explanations are usually based upon speculative assumptions about modern man. The scholars who believe in this theory tend to assume that the human ancestors who devised "märchen" had the same sort of psychic make-up as modern man. They emphasize the irrational aspects of "märchen" and claim that since all that is fantastic in the tales cannot be found in nature, in objective reality, their origin must be related to the origin of human fantasies. They analyze the tales in symbolic terms and argue that just as things in dreams may never have occurred in waking reality, so some folklore, may be, is the product of a similar mental phenomena.

Freud observed in "The Interpretation of Dreams that dreams express the latent, repressed wishes and fears of infantile sexuality in symbolic disguises. (Sigmund Freud "Interpretations of Dreams" in The Basic Writings of Sigmund

Freud trans. and ed. by A.A.Brill (New York: Modern Library, 1938), pp. 307-9). The next step was the equation of dreams with myths and other kinds of folklore. "The dream is the myth of the individual" wrote Abraham (Karl Abraham, Dreams and myths, a study in race psychology trans. by William A White. Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series No. 15 (New York, 1913), p.72). If the dream uncovered the infantile desires of one human being, myths revealed psychic repressions of the childhood of the race. Such processes as condensation, elaboration, and substitution transformed the childish, half-forgotten sexual urges into objects and images taken from daily life. So the same psychological mechanisms operated in dreams and myths should be subject to the same interpretations.

Symbols wich occurred in the dreams of individuals were to be found in a "more developed condition" in folklore-myths, legends, "märchen" idiomatic phrases, proverbs, and jokes. Freud's followers Karl Abraham, Ernest Jones, Gérza Roheim, Otto Rank and J.L.Fisher all continued developing psychoanalytic studies of folklore. (Ernest Jones, "Psycho-analysis and Folklore", in The Study of Folklore, pp. 88-102; Gérza Roheim, The Gates of the Dream (New York, 1952); J.L. Fisher "The Socio-psychological Analysis of Folktales, "Current Anthropology Vol.4 (1963), pp. 235-95).

Abraham asserts that several symbols often cloak the same person. Prometheus is both "lightening" and "generator", and both are, according to Abraham, obvious genital symbols, and the myth of Prometheus proclaims "The masculine power of procreation as a principle of all life" (Abraham, p.70). Jones takes a less radical stand. He explains the importance and nature of symbolism in folk literature in the following words:

"Metaphors, emblems, similes, and so on, in fact almost

any process in which one idea stands for another, have had the name "symbolism" applied to them. In psychoanalysis the word is employed in a much more restricted and defined sense, to designate a peculiar process whereby an idea or process represents an associated one which is in a state of repression in the unconscious mind". His own way of decoding these symbols, however, is based on a number of assumptions which folklorists would question.

"The number of possible symbols is countless, whereas the number of ideas in the unconscious that can be symbolized is very limited indeed, only those referring to the immediate blood relatives, various parts of the body, and the phenomena of birth, love and death.... I would only point out that the data of folklore are replete with examples of symbolism in the psychoanalytical sense, and that the interpretation of such symbols not only illuminates the inner meaning of the data but can constantly be confirmed by comparative study of allied material" ("Psychoanalysis and Folklore", The Study of Folklore, pp.95-96).

Jones then goes on to explain how the old customs of throwing rice at weddings represent the idea of fertility. Nevertheless throughout his essay Jones makes the same kind of assumptions that others in his field are inclined to make-namely that "throwing rice" or "confetti" is common to all cultures and that "a symbol always represents a concrete idea, never a general or abstract one (Jones, p.96).

Róheim sees the dream as a forerunner of rather than parallel with myth and tale, or combining with unconscions fantasies to form myths and tales. Grendel choking sleepers in Beowulf is a nightmare episode. The widely distributed "märchen" incident of the magic flight, in wihch the little hero fleeing from the giant throws objects in the path which swell to enormous size, Róheim interprets, as "urethral

awakening dream". Since one of the objects is customarily a bottle of water that exponds into a lake, Róheim brings to bear evidence from his patients who dream of bodies of water when their bladders are full and of obstacles when the bathrooms are closed. The urinary stimulus becomes a sexual one, represented in the tale by the chase (Rhoeim, pp.78-79, 418).

Jung rejects the sexual symbolism of the Freudians and he and his followers group themselves under a distinct branch of psychology. From the viewpoint of tale analysis Freudians and Jungians have much in common. Both circles regard folklore as an integral part of their discipline, and the Jung Institute in Zurich used to have, and probably still has a course on "Practice in the Psychological Interpretation of Fairy Tales" (Dorson, "Current Folklore Theories", p.107). Both Freud and Jung interpret myths and "märchen" by the method of symbolism. The Freudian pairs of opposites (male-female, phallus-vagina) recur in Jung in metaphysical terms (consciousnees-unconsciousness, life-death, God-Satan). Both employ the key concept of unconscious, transferred by Jung from the individual to the race. Jung like Freud equates myths and "märchen" with dreams and psychotic fantasies. But unlike Freud, Jung speaks of ever present elements in the unconscions psyche which keep reproducing similar myths and myth elements. He calls these mythological components "motifs", "primordial images", or preferably "archetypes". Primitive man does not invent myths, he experiences them as revelations of the preconscions psyche, and modern man re-experiences them as "autochthonous revivals". The archetypes are lodged in a "collective unconscions". (See Carl G. Jung and C.Kereyi, Essays on a Science of Mythology, trans by R.F.C. Hull (New York: Pantheon Books, 1949). In a later work of his Jung analyzes the Winnebago trickster as an amalgam of

god and beast, hero and clown, superconsciousness and unconscionsness (Carl G.Jung "On the Psychology of the Trickster Figure" in The Trickster, A Study in American Indian Mythology, ed. by Paul Radin trans. by R.F.C. Hull (New York: Philosophical Library, 1956), pp.195-211). For the Freudians Winnebago is a perfect example of the father motivated by incestuous desires. He displays the father's wish to marry his daughters, and the daughters unconsciously convey Electra complexes.

In an ingenious examination of Oedipus-type tales collected in Oceania William Lessa points out that the plot appears within a kin group society quite unlike the Euroamerican nuclear family. Oedipus tales thus appear in cultures lacking Oedipal-complex situations and fail to appear in Africa, China much of Asia, the Americas, and Australia. They are therefore according to Lessa's findings, not a universal development from a universal complex and the plot does not seem to be related to its social environment. Presumably the tale has travelled from Europe to Oceania by diffusion (William A. Lessa, "Oedipus-type Tales in Oceania" Journal of American Folklore (69), pp. 63-73).

William Desmonde, a psychologist in line with, Ernest Jones, analizes the tale "Jack and the Beanstalk" from a psychoanalytical point of view and gives a reading of this tale which is extremely restrictive. Moreover because Desmonde takes only one version of the story The English version, he leaves out from his overall analysis of the tale those symbols developed in its other versions (See William Desmonde "Jack and the Beanstalk" American Imago Vol 8 (1951), pp.287-88, also in Dundes, pp.107-109).

Martha Wolfenstein, another psychologist, takes a more eclectic stand as she analizes the English and the American variants of the same fairytale, revealing her awareness of the differences in the symbolic

meanings inherent in the different versions of the tale. But her system of decoding the symbols does not coincide with those of Desmonde. While Desmonde interprets the treasures in the English version as incestuous representations, (Desmonde, pp.109-10) for instance, Wolfenstein, in analyzing the same variant takes them to be symbols of a passive receptive attitude. Indeed for Desmonde this tale is a working out of the growing boys incestuous desires and his final self castration, whereas for Wolfenstein it displays the boys prephallic state. One is at a loss as to who has the right answer: (Martha Wolfenstein, "Jack and the Beanstalk: An American Version" in Dundes, pp.11-13).

A more recent study on the psychological analysis of fairytales has been published by Bruno Bettelheim. In his controversial book The Uses of Enchantment (Penguin, 1976) Bettehleim claims that by analyzing a number of popular fairytales from the point of view of a child's apprehension and use of them he can demonstrate to adult readers how a child responds to fairytales and reality. His aim is to enlighten the parents in their dealings with children. The statements he makes are, in a way, indicative of how narrow a purely psychological approach can be in interpreting "märchen". He writes:

"The content of the chosen tale has nothing to do with the patient's external life, but much to do with his inner problems, which seem incomprehensible and hence insoluable... The unrealistic nature of these tales is an important device, because it makes obvious that fairytales' concern is not useful information about external world, but the inner processes taking place in an individual" (Bettelheim, p.25).

In short the psychological approach to folklore depends upon the notion that "märchen", myths, etc. are more fantasy than fact, and that fantastical items symbolize mental states. There is no place in their studies for the artistic codes and literary patterns displayed in them. Furthermore there is no consensus among them as to the translation of the inbuilt symbolic codes. Each school (Freudian or Jurgian) claims to possess the one and only correct key by whose means the secret message concealed by the code can be revealed. Furthermore, most adherents of symbolic interpretations tend to make the

study of folktales and "märchen", as well as the rest of literature solely a psychological, not a historical science. Alan Dundes summerizes their exclusive attitude in the example he gives:

"Their explanation of the widespread flood story would not be that there was in fact an actual flood (i.e., a literal reading of the myth), but that perhaps the deluge from which man is created anew is a cosmogonic projection of the process of human birth in which the neonate is delivered from the amniotic flood waters" (Dundes, p.55).

3. Formalist, Structuralist and Post-Structuralist Approaches

Because of the great persistence of recurrent themes, types, patterns and motifs in "märchen" they have been greatly cherished by those scholars who seek to find theoretical systems that appear to control human culture generally. These scholars claim that literature and folklore is, after all, just one part of human culture and if there are any cross-culturally applicable super structures which seem to govern them there is no reason why these same metastructures could not coincide with or even act as a guide to the comprehension of the metastructures that must be regulating other aspects of culture (or even life).

The attempt to do draw patterns from literary texts and traditional narratives, and then to try to interpret those texts and others by the use of these deduced forms is first experimented and theorized by the Russian formalists at the beginning of the twentieth century. Victor Shklovsky, Boris Eichenbaum, Tzvetan Todorov, Roman Jakobson, and Vladimir Propp are among the foremost proponents of the Russian formalists who begin to be quite active in the years immediately preceding the 1917 revolution. Later, through their associations with Czech structuralists, they influence the newly

developing structuralists methodology in France. The French structuralists, the most prominant ones being, Claude Levi-Strauss, A.J.Greimas and Jacques Lacan indeed owe their methods of investigation to the innovative work of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) but with the publications of Victor Erlich's Russian Formalism - History, Doctrine in 1955 and Tzvetan Todorov's Textes des Formalistes Russes in 1965 the impact of the formalists on Western literary scholarship at large has been significant, and contemporary structuralists have been highly inspired by their ideas.

Structuralists like Levi-Strauss, Lacan, Greimas and the North American critic Northrop Frye are universalists and are concerned with the operations performed by the human mind in general. Contrary to their attitude however, are the views of Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida. The last three are usually referred to as post-structuralists and they appear to be preoccupied with the workings of particular minds at particular times. Consequently the theoreticians belongings to this section can be classified into three groups. They all believe in the essential importance of relations in the process of comprehension and communication. Moreover since they consider literature as an aesthetic form of communication they put special emphasis on the study of the relations between forms, functions, motifs etc. of texts to explain how a specific form can communicate a specific meaning. Further their general approach to all art and life is governed by the rules of linguistics. According to them without language there can be no knowledge. Formalists, nevertheless, are fundamentally interested in analyzing the aesthetic use of language and form. Structuralists seek to construct structures that may apply to all works of art and thought at all times. Post-structuralists acknowledge the existence of one basic structure in the human mind, which forms the essence of all epistomology-namely binary opposition. True to this one principle, however,

they observe in all systems of thought and expression, not permenant structures, but inbuilt contradictions.

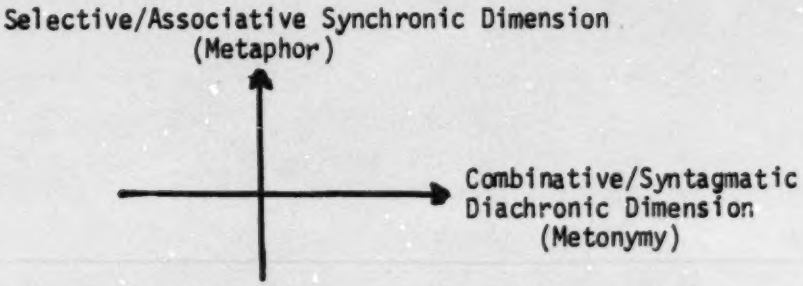
a) Russian Formalism

The Moscow Linguistic Circle founded in 1915 and headed by Jakobson, and the Society for the Study of Poetic Language founded in 1916 and dominated by Shklovsky were the two leading groups who shared similar views in their approach to and study of literary texts. They were united in their wish to establish the study of literature on a specific footing, to constitute it as an autonomous science using methods and procedures of its own. Their primary concern was that of specifying those formal and linguistic properties which could be said to distinguish literature and poetry from other forms of discourse, and particularly from prosaic or ordinary language.

It was with respect both to the way in which this concern was pursued and the nature of the conclusions they proposed that the label of "formalism" was applied to them. They held that the question of literature's specificity could be resolved solely with reference to the formal properties of literary texts. It was not necessary, according to them, to take into account the historical forces operative in the construction of such texts. This position is most fully developed in Jakobson's writings on poetry. For Jakobson the mode of functioning of the poetic word is such as to secure the primacy of the aesthetic over its communicative function. (Tony Bennett, Formalism and Marxism (Methuen and Co. Ltd, 1979) pp.6-43).

Jakobson sees metaphor and metonymy as the characteristic modes of binary opposed polarities which between them underpin the two-fold process of "selection" and "combination" by which linguistic signs are formed: "The given utterance (message) is a combination of constituent parts (sentences,

words, phonemes, etc.) selected from the repository of all possible constituent parts (the code)" (Roman Jakobson and Morris Halle, Fundementals of Language, Part II. (The Hague: Monton, 1956), p.75). Thus messages are constructed by a combination of a 'horizontal' movement, which combines words together, and a "vertical" movement, which selects the particular words from the available inventory. The combinative (or syntagmatic) process manifests itself in contiguity (one word being placed next to another) and its mode is "metonymic". The selective (or associative) process manifests itself in similarity (one word or concept being 'like' another) and its mode is metaphoric. The 'opposition' of metaphor and metonymy therefore may be said to represent in effect the total opposition between the synchronic mode of language (its immediate, coexistent, vertical relationships) and its diachronic mode, (its sequential, successive, linearly progressive relationships). (See Terence Hawkes, Structuralism and Semiotics (Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1977), pp.77-79). Hawkes represents these two aspects of the language discussed by Jakobson as follows:



(Hawkes, p.78).

The question of the word's metonymic (syntagmatic) meaning - its relationship to whatever it signifies - which is dominant in ordinary language is suspended in poetry (literature) where, Jakobson argues, the word is installed with a metaphoric (associative) meaning (indeed an incessant play of

meaning upon meaning).

Formalists maintain that the aim of literature is not, and cannot be a reflection of reality but only a particular, Semiotically organized signification of it. Far from reflecting reality, they argue literary texts tend to make it "strange", to dislocate our habitual perceptions of the real world so as to make it the object of a renewed attentiveness. They insist that the uniqueness of "literature" consists in its tendency to "defamiliarize" experience and that the true concern of literary scholarship should be to analyze the formal devices by means of which such an effect is achieved.

More at the level of content, without denying their historic and social nature, the formalists seek to reveal the devices through which the total structure of given works of literature might be said to "defamiliarize", make strange or challenge certain dominant conceptions of the social world. However there is also the question of degree. If all literary works engage in defamiliarization all of the time, the absence of a familiar norm or "control" robs the process of any distinction. The full implications of this problem are perhaps best handled in the work of Vladimir I. Propp, whose Morphology of the Folktale (1928) remains one of the major formalist contributions, and represents a further significant step towards a "poetics" appropriate to the art of fiction. Propp's concern is exactly with the "norms" by which narrative structures work - the units of 'content' in which they seem to deal. In Propp's analysis "märchen" is seen to embody a syntagmatic "horizontal" structure. His analysis reinforces the view that narrative is fundamentally syntagmatic in mode. For him the all-important and unifying element in all "märchen" is the characters' function; the part they play in the plot. Propp defines function as: "an act of a character defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of action"

(Vladimir Propp, Morphology of the Folktale, (Leningrad 1928) trans. Laurence Scott, with an into by Svatana Pirkova - Jakobson (Austin, 1958), p.21) (See also report no: 4 pp.13-15).

This makes possible an analysis of the tales according to the various functions of their characters and indicates that despite the surface profusion of detail the number of functions is extremely small. Analysis of these elements of uniformity lead Propp to the conclusion that all "märchen" are structurally homogeneous and embody four basic principles. Further, the thirty-one functions which they may contain are distributed among seven "spheres of action". In a specific "märchen" one character may be involved in several spheres of action, and several characters may be involved in the same sphere of action. But the important point made by Propp is that the number of spheres of action occuring in the "märchen" is finite. Thus Propp and other formalists like Jakobson, Shklovsky etc. canalize their studies to the analysis of the relations of various elements, forms, and/or functions of a literary work of art and try to deduce set norms from them - without regard to the work's social or historical context. By extension, literature at large is evaluated by them as a special kind of activity which, although wholly natural to the human species, is nevertheless isolatable, separate from what goes on beyond it, and thus like the language itself, is capable of transformation, autonomous and internally coherent. In addition literary change is seen not as a response to, or a by-product of social change, but as the unfolding of a self-generating and self-enclosed sequence of styles and genres, propelled by its own internal rules. In other words according to them what defines literature in any age is its structural role: its opposition to the non-literature of that age.

b) Structuralism

The kinship between structuralism and formalism is illustrated clearly in the introduction written by Claude Levi-Strauss in 1976 to a series of six lectures prepared by Roman Jakobson. Levi-Strauss explains in his preface the importance of Jakobson's ideas on liguistics for a general comprehension of method in the social sciences. "What Jakobson said about phonetics was applicable mutatis mutandis equally well to ethnology.... What Jakobson writes here, about the phonic individuality of phonemes, can be said about any terms whatsoever, real or imaginery: 'The important thing... is not at all each phoneme's individual phonic quality considered in isolation and existing in its own right. What matters is their reciprocal opposition within.... a system (p.76)'". (Roman Jakobson, Six Lectures on Sound and Meaning trans. by John Mepham. Preface by C.Levi-Strauss (The Harvester Press, 1978), p. XII-XIII).

This is the method by which Levi-Strauss believes he has made more intelligible than ever before the empirical data on the institutions of kinship, totemism and myth. Indeed, he passes beyond mere exploration of these data to the identification of what he takes to be specific as universal properties of the human mind itself.

It is a fact that Jakobson, too, along with the structuralists like Levi-Strauss, Lacan, Greimas and others derives his inspiration and terminology from Ferdinand de Saussure. Saussure analyzed the "word" as a verbal sign with two components: a "sound" or acoustic component which he called the signifier and a mental or conceptual component which he called the signified. (See Roman Jakobson, Six Lectures on Sound and Meaning, pp.2-7 and John Sturrock, Structuralism and Since (Oxford University Press, 1979) pp.6-11). The signifier is not a thing but the notion of a thing, what comes into the mind

of the speaker or hearer when the appropriate signifier is uttered. The signifier is thus the material aspect of language - it can be a sound uttered or a mark inscribed on the page. The signified is the mental aspect of the language. In practice signifiers and signifieds are inseparable. A truly meaningless sound is not a signifier because it does not signify. There can be no signifier without a signified and no signified without a signifier. Moreover, any object, whatsoever, be it natural or artificial, can become a sign provided that it is employed to communicate a message - to signify. When an object is employed as a sign it is often referred to as a code. There are differences between natural codes and cultural ones. A cultural code is a channel of communication which enables cultural transaction.

Saussure also introduced two other pairs of contrasted terms which are important to the understanding of the form of thought we are dealing with. In analyzing the language phenomenon he distinguished between what he called "langue" and "parole", or "language" and "speech". Language, he said, is the theoretical system or structure of a language - the body of linguistic rules which govern a language - and speech the actual "day-to-day" use made of that system by individual speakers. (Sturrock, p.8). For Saussure the linguist's proper job was to study not speech but language as a system functioning at a given moment in time. Hence Saussure's approach is synchronic and any study of particular systems based on Saussure's ideas is necessarily synchronic.

Another influence of Saussure's linguistics on structuralist theory at large is that the linguistic sign is "arbitrary". Language is arbitrary at the level of the signifier and the signified. The crucial conclusion Saussure arrives at from this twofold arbitrariness is that language is a system of relations between its constituent units either of which canbe

replaced by other units. Hence language (and all reality as it is conceived in the mind in the form of words) is a system of relations, of sound and meaning and not a self-contained substance. This is not to deny that there exists a real world external to the signifying mantle which language casts upon it. But it is to maintain that our knowledge or appropriation of that world is always mediated through and influenced by the organizing structure which language inevitably places between it and ourselves. Language thus described is impersonal. It exceeds us as individuals. Any use of language to communicate with others, involves inevitably the surrender of a portion of our uniqueness for if our language were unique, like ourselves, no one would be able to understand it, consequently all social and individual categorization is symbolic, and structuralism is essentially interested in the exploration of these categories and their relations with one another. From this point of view structuralism has come to stand for a way of thinking opposed to individualism and Marxism (Sturrock, pp.12-13).

Greimas, who applies this approach to literature, for example, is concerned not with the elucidation of individual works of literature, so much as the nature of "grammar" which generates them. His two important works Sémantique Structurale (1966) and Du Sens (1970) attempt do describe narrative structure in terms of an established linguistic model derived from Saussure and Jakobson. He begins with the fundamental notion of binary opposition as the basic human conceptual mode. A narrative sequence embodies this mode by the employment of two "actants" whose relationship must be either oppositional or its reverse, and on the surface level this relationship will generate fundamental actions of disjunction and conjunction, separation and union, struggle and reconciliation etc.. The movement from one to the other constitutes the essence of narrative (Hawkes, p.90).

Like Propp, therefore, Greimas argues for " a grammar" of narrative in which finite number of elements disposed in a finite number of ways will generate structures that we recognize as stories. But unlike Propp like a committed structuralist he sees the story as a semantic structure analogous to the sentence and yielding itself to an appropriate kind of analysis.

Northrop Frye, a North American scholar, in his Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays. (Princeton University Press, 1957) analyzes all western literary inheritance in terms of cyclic patterns of birth, youth, maturity and old age leading to death. This structure in human life is, according to Frye, reflected in the cycles of nature (Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter), and the guadruple formation of all culture: literature is built on four modes of expression (Comedy, Romance, Tragedy, and Irony + Satire); criticism falls into four ways of examination and evaluation (Fictional, Tragic, Comic and Thematic); symbols in works of art are displayed in four major phases (Literal and Descriptive Phase, Formal Phase, Mythical Phase, and the Anagogic Phase). Frye's later works solidify and develop his structuralist stand even further. In The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance (Harvard, 1976) Northrop Frye discusses how he discerns in the innumerable romantic narratives of the Western tradition an imaginative universe stretching from an idyllic world to a demonic one and a pattern of action taking the form of a cyclical descent into and ascent out of the demonic realm.

A structuralist approach to the study of traditional narratives is displayed in the writings of the American folklorist Alan Dundes, astrong proponent of Propp but more linguistically concious than the Russian formalist. In a paper published in the Journal of American Folklore ("From etic to emic units in the structural study of folktales" Journal of American Folklore (1962), pp.95-105) Dundes proposes a folklore index

based on structural units, which can combine Propp's morphological analysis with linguistic terms proposed by Kenneth L.Pike (Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of Culture, Part I. (California, 1954). Reference from "Current Folklore Theories", p.110). Dundes suggests that in the new index the term "motifeme" be used rather than "function" as an extention of the linguistic term "motif".

Briefly structuralism is fundamentally a way of thinking about the world which is predominantly concerned with the perception and description of structures in man's mind and the civil societies he founds. In consequence the ultimate quarry of structuralist thinking is the permanent structures into which individual humans acts, perceptions fit and from which they derive their final nature.

c) Post-structuralism

Every perceiver's method of perceiving can be shown to contain an inherent bias which affects what is perceived to a significant degree. A wholly objective perception of individual entities is therefore not possible. Accordingly the relationship between observer and observed is of primary importance. It becomes the only thing that can be observed. In consequence, the true nature of things may be said to lie not in things themselves, but in the relationships which we construct, and then perceive between them. Starting from this anti-individualistic nature of perception and comprehension Derrida, Foucault and Barthes who are now referred to as "post-structuralists" advance the claims of the signifier above those of the signified. The signifier is what we can be sure of, it is material; the signified is an open question. The same signifier is sure to have different signifieds for two different people occupying a differently defined semantic space because their individual experiences will be different; again the same signifier will have different signifieds for the same person at

different times since our semantic space is never stable.

It follows that for Derrida and the other post-structuralists an author can have no special authority over what he has written because the meaning the book will yield to a certain reader need not coincide with that its author had invested in it. Meaning will vary in accordance with who reads it and in what circumstances. In Of Grammatology (1967) Derrida writes:

"The writer writes in a language and in a logic whose proper system, laws, and life his discourse, by definition cannot dominate absolutely. He uses them only by letting himself, after a fashion and up to a point, be governed by the system. And reading must always aim at a certain relationship, unperceived by the writer, between what he commands and what he does not command of the patterns of the language he uses" (Of Grammatology in Sturrock, p.173).

On the other had Derrida is also aware that a new semiotics or science of meaning which would lie beyond the logic of a given language is an impossibility. Relations between words are built and must be built on the historic nature of those words.

"One can say a priori that in every semiotic proposition or system of research metaphysical presuppositions will cohabit with crucial motifs, by virtue of the fact that up to a certain point they inhabit the same language, or rather the same system of language. Grammatology would doubtless be less another science, a new discipline charged with a new content or a new and clearly delimited domain, than the vigilant practice or exercise of this textual division (Derrida, Positions in Sturrock, p.172).

In consequence the post-structuralists, unlike hard core structuralists are not so much concered with constructing systems as "deconstructing" them.

Foucault exposes his "deconstructionalist" stand as he argues that "the researches of psychoanalysis of linguistics, of anthropology, have 'decentered' the subject in relation to the laws of its desire, the forms of its language, the rules of its actions, or the play of its mythical and imaginative discouse "(The Archeology of Knowledge in Sturrock, p.174). To put it schematically in each of these fields post-structuralist reasoning has given priority to a system of difference and has indicated that these subjects are constituted by or resulting from the play of systems rather than a controlling conscionsness which is the master and ultimate origin of systems. Analyzing their argument from a general critical stand one realizes that formalist, structuralist and post-structuralist approaches to works of literature appear to be attempts to explain textual similarities and differences in terms of units (functions, events, forms states etc.) which have no significance or meaningful reference by themselves but are the integral and crucially important parts of a text in its totality. The considerations of these scholars are purely aesthetic and philosophical, not historical and sociological. However this should not lead us to conclude that for them works of literature exist in an ahistorical vacuum. They merely argue that the organizational features of these works cannot be reduced to economic, social and historical considerations. There is, therefore, a need for an autonomous level of theorizing. The formalists conceive of each system as an integral whole and do not try to transfer the methods of investigation used in one area of social and cultural activity to the other. Structuralists maintain that the various levels of human activity should be regarded as relatively autonomous but that there is present in each of these

an order of organization like that of a language - a meta-structure that is applicable to them all. The post-structuralists, are not concerned so much with the compositions of structures as their "decompositions". The only cross-cultural and cross-systematic similarity appears to be for them the dynamics of oppositions which itself is arbitrary.

4. Marxist Approach

Like the structural approach Marxist approach to the study of literature shows distinctive variations. A group of Marxists lead by Louis Althusser, Pierre Macherey and Terry Eagleton define literature as a way of seeing and revealing from within the categories of dominant ideologies. The concern of Marxist criticism, according to them becomes that of understanding the formal processes through which literary texts work upon and transform dominant ideological forms. Althusser conceives of society or "social formation", as consisting of a number of relatively autonomous instances or levels of social practice - the economic, the political and the ideological. He further argues that the essential concern of Marxism is to understand the ways in which these levels of practice interact with one another within concrete historical societies. (Bennett, p.36). Terry Eagleton elucidates this view as he writes: "It would be a mistake to imply that Marxist Criticism moves mechanically from "text" to "ideology" to "social relations" to "productive forces". It is concerned, rather, with the unity of these levels of society. Literature may be part of the superstructure, but it is not merely the passive reflection of the economic base" (Terry Eagleton Marxism and Literary Criticism (London, Methuen, 1977), p.9).

Jack Zipes, an American Marxist critic who studies the history, development and role of "märchen" in the western society at large is another Marxist critic who follows Eagleton's line of argument. Zipes observes that tales composed in a media

governed by a feudal system reflect the aims, aspirations and values of either the lower classes, peasants, or the governing classes, the aristocrats, and that the same tales told or written a few centuries later are changed in accordance with the tastes and values of the bourgeois society. In explaining the nature of the change that takes place in tale composition in the nineteenth century Zipes writes:

"Either fairytales themselves were rewritten and watered down with moralistic endings, or they began to serve a compensatory cultural function.... The inevitable outcome of most mass-mediated fairytales is a happy reaffirmation of the system which produces them" (Zipes, pp. 14-17).

Further in the same book, nevertheless, Zipes discusses the active role "märchen" play in the minds of its audience/ reader.

"Folk and fairytales remain an essential force in our cultural heritage, but they are not static literary models to be internalized for the therapeutic consumption. Their value depends on how we actively produce and receive them in forms of social interaction which lead toward the creation of greater individiual autonomy" (Zipes, p.177).

Another Marxist critic who stresses the same point is Ernst Bloch. Bloch expounds on the "alienation" effect produced by the "märchen" style, form and characters. According to Bloch.

"...Literature can contribute to a reawakening through a process of estrangement. In particular, the fantastic images and magic of the fairytales can estrange the reader to every-day life, and expectations if they are combined with dreams and wishes which lend them a new quality determined by the

VorSchein of the tale which awakens a utopian conscionsness that may have been repressed and needs articulation" (Bloch in Zipes, p.139 See Also Chapter III in Marxism and Form by Fredric Jameson (Princeton, 1971).

Thus Bloch, like Brecht, posits the view that reality is a changing discontinuous process, produced by men and so transformable by them. (See Breht on Theatre: The Development of an Aesthetic trans. by John Willet (London, 1964).) The task of art (literature, theatre etc.) is not to "reflect" a fixed reality, but to demonstrate how character and action are historically produced, and so how they could have been, and still can be, different. The tales, viewed as such become more a reflection on rather than a reflection of social reality. The audience/reader must "think above the action", refuse to accept it uncritically, along with reacting to it emotionally: "One thinks feelings and one feels thoughtfully" writes Brecht (Brecht on Theatre in Eagleton, p.67): In his discussion of "märchen" Bloch, too, time and again notes that "märchen" displays a critical view of reality. The protagonists of these tales are always the underdogs, the youngest children, the most deprived and the most discontented ones. Dissatisfaction, Bloch claims, is a condition which ignites the Utopian drive and supplies the courage to act.

Opposed to this view another group of Marxist theoreticians lead by Christopher Caudwell and Georg Lukács reject "märchen" as unrealistic "dream compensations". Sokolov explains this stand as he writes:

"A fairytale performs the role of a social utopia..., it is a type of dream compensation. It is a dream about the conquest of nature - about a magic world where 'at the pike's command, at my own request,' all the pails will tnemselves go up the hill, the axes themselves will chop...." (Sokolov in Roman Jakobson, "On Russian Fairy Tales," Russian Fairy Tales

(London, 1975), p.650).

Parallel to this view but from a different stand Lukács argues that "the task of a Marxist aesthetic (is) to demonstrate concretely how objectivity of form is an aspect of the creative process". He claims that "the more 'artless' a work of art, the more it gives the effect of life and nature, the more clearly it exemplifies an actual concentrated reflection of its times and the more clearly it demonstrates that the only function of its form is the expression of its objectivity, this reflection of life in the greatest concreteness and clarity and with all its motivating contradictions." (Georg Lukács, Writer and Critic, ed. and trans. by Arthur Kahn (Merlin Press, 1978), pp.52-3). In asserting the rights of such a "critical realism" Lukács rejects all symbolic, unrealistic fiction as deceptive and evasive. Christopher Caudwell expounds on a similar reasoning from yet a different angle. In Illusion and Reality (London, 1977) he claims that history can take its true dynamic course only if society is stripped off all its mythical, religions, ideological prejudices and "illusionary" outlets (Caudwell, p.45, 81-84). Romance and "märchen" by affirming the values of the existing tradition, and by providing "illusionary" and "superficial" outlets to people repressed and exploited in real life, make them waste their time and cause them lose part of their dynamic energy which may bring them to an awareness of their state in real life. Hence, according to Caudwell, the audience of these tales is stripped off his drive to rebel and bring about the social and economic change necessary for the attainment of his true happiness. A utilitarian approach to literature in general lies at the heart of Caudwell's Marxist criticism. For Caudwell art and literature are, like science, guides to action, weapons in the class struggle and therefore it is essential to organize them on this basis. Literature should express the "actual" and the "desirable" thereby excite and direct man's social energy to

definite social goals".

As opposed to this functionalist approach expressed in the works of the Marxist critics discussed so far. Raymond Williams assumes a different attitude in his evaluation of literature at large. The marxist study of literature lead by Lukács (his chief disciple being Lucien Goldmann) analyzes literary forms as the natural expressions of content. Lukács' critical concepts are "totality" (reflection of a microcosmic form - the complex totality of society itself), "typicality", and "world-historical". In these he betrays the same loss of historical meaning that he accuses the "formalists" with. Caudwell, on the other hand, in criticizing the bourgeois conception of art supports its very principles when he argues that "art organizes the chaos of reality". Moreover he sees form and content of literature not as dialectically related, historically determined structures. He asserts the primacy of content defining it as an inherently formless being which is restricted and expressed in a significant structure that is form. Brecht's aesthetics shares a lot with the views of the "formalists". Both Brecht and the "formalists" define the principal function of art, as "estranging" its audience from familiar experience by displaying it in an unfamiliar light. However for Brecht art is not divorced from society. It is a social product determined by and determining the society of which it is a part. The author is a producer, analogous to any other maker of social product. Nevertheless neither Brecht nor his close friend and associate Walter Benjamin explain why, if art is so culture specific, certain themes, motifs and forms are cross-culturally observed - as in the case of "märchen" - nor do they discuss why there should be any difference between forms of production, some being artistic, others non-artistic, or indeed why should such a distinction arise, what does it imply.

It is exactly at this point that Raymond Williams steps

in. In his two more recent works Keywords (1976) and Marxism and Literature (1977) Williams tries to demonstrate how, through a prolonged process of development the word "literature" gradually assumed its current meaning. Tracing the word to its root, the Latin Littera, a letter of the alphabet he explains that "Litterature", in the common early spelling, was in effect a condition of reading: of being able to read and of having read. It was often close to the sense of modern literacy, which was not in the language until the late nineteenth century". (Marxism and Literature, (Oxford University Press, 1977), p.46).

In consequence "literature" which had been used to refer to all forms of learned or scholarly writing - including philosophy, history, as well as fictional forms - came to be a restricted and privileged set of fictional writing in the nineteenth century. Hence the concept of literature as we use it today, according to Williams, reflects a historically and ideologically produced way of viewing the texts concerned and their relationship to neighbouring areas of cultural practice. Therefore although "literary" texts may exhibit properties different from those displayed by other forms of writing, they are distinguished from them not aesthetically but as one practice of writing among others (Marxism and Literature pp. 47-53). In Williams' works Marxist criticism no longer takes a fundamentally functionalist approach. Literary texts are regarded as belonging to an ultimately non-aesthetic terrain. Art and artifice are identified and "myth" and all fiction regardless of their nature and development are defined as nothing more than specific forms of perception which are historically bound (Marxism and Literature, p.50). Viewed from this angle there can be no general or individiualistic work nor can there be such a response to a work. All that is written and all that the written work communicates is historically and culturally determined.

5. Anthropological Approach

Sociologists and anthropologists began to be interested in folklore scholarship at the end of nineteenth, the beginning of twentieth century. Eventually anthropologists have come to contribute so much to the study of folktales that the American Anthropologist has become one of the foremost scholarly journals to publish research done in various parts of the world in folk literature.

The massive figures of Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict and their students bridged the gab between anthropology and folklore in North America at the very beginning of this century. Both Boas and Benedict edited The Journal of American Folklore for many years. Boas set out to collect tales in interlinear translations from all possible informants, not simply from the "best" and in all available variants. In publishing his extensive collections from Tsimshion and the Kwakiutl, Boas formulated the proposotion that the corpus of traditional tales in a culture mirror the traits of the material culture. The tales comprise an ethnography, and provide valuable clues to vanished elements of the tribal history. Further Boas, also concentrated on the dissemination process but avoided any attempts to establish an "Ur-form" (See Boas in "Current Folklore Theories", p.101).

Ruth Benedict took up the editorship of the Journal of American Folklore from Boas in 1924. Both in her publications in this journal and in her now classic introduction to Zuni Mythology (1935) she advanced fruitful ideas for the analysis of oral literature (See Margaret Mead, An Anthropologist at Work: Writings of Ruth Benedict (Boston, 1959). pp.226-45). She analized the content and the style of the tales from the point of view of the narrator and the tribe in which she recorded them. Benedict argued that as a prerequisite to the development of any theory about oral literature an intimate

knowledge of a given culture and a full record of its narrative traditions are necessary. After Benedict anthropologists started to move more and more away from the line of folklorists. In the 1950's the only major figure who tried to bring the two disciplines together was William Bascom. Bascom worked on and expanded the viewpoint of Malinowski in Myth in Primitive Psychology. He called attention to the functional roles of folklore.

Since 1960 the two disciplines have once again begun to come together. Nevertheless the interest of the contemporary anthropologists lie mainly in the analysis, description and functions of those tales and legends which reflect the peculiar values and customs of a given community rather than "märchen" which displays a number of cross-cultural features. Scholars in this field go and live with the people whose tales they record and interpret. Their findings stress the importance of "the story-telling event" and "audience" in bringing about the different features that exist in the different versions of the same text in a certain community, at a certain time. Moreover they note the significant role played by the storyteller in the composition of a given tale. Consequently they record biographical information on the narrators and take notes on all the details of "story-telling" events.

Wisconsin Chippewa Myths and Tales (University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), a collection of Chippewa tales, published by the American anthropologist Victor Barnouw is a good example of how an anthropologist approaches folklore scholarship.

Barnouw first gives information about Chippewa social organization, the Chippewa religion, and folklore in general (Bornouw, pp.5-12), then tells of the background of each narrator, and finally discusses each tale in terms of its relations to Chippewa life and culture.

This type of approach has had great popularity in the United States and Britain. Linda Dégh, a prominant Hungarian folklorist who has established herself in the United States, for instance, makes sure that she records some information about each of her informants which include not only facts about their ancestory but also about their social class, occupation, habits of storytelling, audience etc.. İlhan Başgöz, Richard Dorson, along with a numerous group of folklorists living and teaching in the United States follow the lead of the anthropologists and record live performances of story-telling events or even film the whole event and try tc establish correlations between a certain variant, its narrator and the condition of narration indicating how each storyteller modifies a tale in accordance with his background, mood and the circunstances under which he tells the tale.

Ruth Finnegan, a British anthropologist who also has a degree in classical literature, has lived in Africa to observe the customs of storytelling and tale composition in different parts of that continent. In her book Oral Poetry (Cambridge University Press, 1977) she argues that unlike the findings of Milman Parry and Albert B.Lord in Yugoslavia (published by Albert B.Lord in The Singer of Tales (Harvard University Press, 1960).)the storyteller does not necessarily take a traditional tale as his frame of reference at the time of performance which, according to Parry and Lord, is simultaneous with composition. In some parts of Africa more specifically inSomalia, in the Horn of Africa composition takes place prior to performance. It is said to be an inspired act and the story once composed is repeated unchanged by the storyteller who composed it and/ or by his followers. Audience, in these communities, does not accept alterations and corrects the narrator if his memory fails him (Finnegan, pp.73-76). Finnegan also discusses the attitude of the audience to the tales. She explains that in some communities stories are considered to be almost "sacred",

yet in others they are regarded as passtime entertainment. Ruth Finnegan, like most anthropologists emphasizes the significance of the social milieu in determining the composition and narration of tales. Her approach is one of an isolationist. She neither analizes the content of the tales, nor explains, the relations between the tales and the habits of composition. We are not, for example, told anything about the content of those tales which are expected to be composed prior to performance nor do we know anything about how they compare with the style, form and theme of those tales which are composed at the time of the performance.

c. Aesthetic Approach

It is difficult to define a group of scholars as aestheticians. But what is meant by this approach is an attitude to the study of "märchen" and all the rest of "ordinary" literature that manifests an awareness of the aesthetic features of the tale without committing itself to certain metastructures, as do the structuralists or seek to find in them essential aesthetic forms, as do the formalists or regard them as the indications of certain ideological stands as do the Marxists. These scholars analyze the tales individually and/or as representitives of independent views. They compare its variants , point to its differing aesthetic forms or items, and, to some extent, try to put its specific ideas in a historical perspective. Their works occationally resemble the studies of generic critics or those of the traditionalists. But their overall approach is less committed and less form-conscions in terms of the former ones, and less vigorously text-oriented in comparison to the latter ones.

Max LUthi is among the prominent names in this group. His book Once Upon a Time: On the Nature of Fairy Tales (Trans. by Lee Chadeayne and Paul Gottwald (Indiana University Press, 1970) is an outstanding example of the works produced in this

line. Eric Rabkin's The Fantastic in Literature (Princeton, 1976), and Fantastic Worlds: Myths, Tales, and Stories (Oxford, 1979), and Anne Wilson's Traditional Romance and Tale are among the studies displaying similar attitudes. The approach of the aestheticians is always analytical, textual and thorough. Their shortcoming lies in that they do not generally place the literary work under discussion in a historical and social context.

G. Fairytale and Audience Response

In the field of literary and folklore scholarship little research has been conducted to bring to light the nature of the audience's response. Scholars from the historico-geographic school have been interested in the audience only as a medium of transmission. For them, the people in the audience are either "passive bearers" or potential "active bearers" of tradition. Psychologists have the tendency to use the tales in order to explain and verify their own theories concerning human nature or human race. Audience response is important for them but they seem to begin with the assumption that they know how children or adults consciously or unconsciously are affected by the tales. Consequently they often impose their own reading on the stories. Moreover their interest lies mainly in the psychological constitution of their readers/audience and not in the aesthetic aspect of their response.

Formalists, structuralists and post-structuralists contribute to the studies of audience response in their efforts to explain the nature of the communication event at large. Their theories, based on semiotics bring to light a number of factors thatare crucial to the phenomena of learning, comprehension and expression. Nevertheless they have the tendency to regard these phenomena as divorced from their

social and historical contexts, and they do not conduct empirical studies to test the accuracy of their theories.

Marxists emphasize the role the tales (indeed all literature) play in the lives of their audience. Malinowski's findings as they are published in his pioneering essay "Myth in Primitive Psychology" (New York, 1929) are crucial for them. In this essay Malinowski indicates that folktales, "märchen", and myths entertain their audience, pass useful information to its illiterate members, work as outlets for the frustrations arising from socially prohibited patterns of behavior and/or emotion, and above all secure the continuation of the status quo. In consequence the majority of Marxist scholars reject the tales as anti-revolutionary and escapist literature. A few, on the other hand, go along with the theses of sociologists like Betty Wang who in her essay "Folksongs as Regulators of Politics," (Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 20 (1935), pp. 161-66, also in The Study of Folklore) indicates how folktales and "märchen" also express protest against injustices and can be used by politicians as a vehicle to arouse social discontent. But all in all Marxists are interested in the function the tales can fulfill, the role "märchen" (or all literature) can play in bringing about social change, and not in the dynamics of the response they arouse in their audience.

Anthropologists concentrate on the oral versions of the tales. They stress the role of the audience in the process of performance but they refer to the audience as a generic term rather than as a group of individuals who may respond similarly or divergently during a specific performance, and who may or may not influence each other's responses to a particular tale. Besides, they too seem to overlook the aesthetic aspect of the tales.

Aestheticians study the written texts thoroughly, displaying

various levels of meaning implicit in them. They assume that an "intelligent" reader sees the same points, and deduces the same meaning from the same text. For them the "reader" is an ideal person who comes to the text equipped with the sort of tools and knowledge that they themselves possess.

Briefly the dynamics of the aesthetic response to literature at large and to "märchen" in particular have not been studied empirically either by folklorists or by the reception theorists (See Report No: 4, pp. 1-10). An empirical study which aims to illuminate to some extent the phenomenon of reader response should bear in mind the findings and the assumptions of all the afore discussed theories in order to be aware of all the problems involved in this field. It should take note of the linguistic, Marxist, formalist and structuralist dimensions of the problem. This is the reason why it is best to use genres whose origin go back to the oral tradition (with the cognizance that most oral narratives come down to us in writing, and may indeed be affected by written literature at some stage), and whose appeal seems to have been cross-cultural. The use of such a genre will not only take into account the primordial postulates of the structuralists but also minimize the problems pointed out by Marxist critics in relation to the definitions of art and genre. Its diachronic, prebourgeois and abourgeois recordings yields itself to the testing of the Marxist hypothesis that "art" and "aesthetics" are concepts which are artifically created by the bourgeois ideology and are not natural products of societies.

Such an empirical study should, therefore also make use of subjects coming from different geographical, cultural, linguistic and economic backgrounds. It is with these concerns in mind that we decided to carry out our experiments amongst Danes and Turks.

A study conducted in countries so diverse in their constitutions as these two may illuminate some aspects of: the question of the function of art (whether art serves a specific function or one that changes with each community); the assumptions made about the possible unity in man's psychic make-up; the postulates formulated on language (whether the structure of a language is the dominant factor in one's comprehension of and attitude to the world); the questions posed by formalists and aestheticians (whether art is a form of communication determined by its own rules which are in effect independent of social and historical institutions); and finally, the controversial supposition that the existence of the cross-culturally known stories is only due to the phenomenon of diffusion (the theory adhered to by the supporters of the historico-geographic and anthropological schools).

Surely this report does full justice neither to the scholars nor to the various schools of thought that are mentioned and briefly discussed. It is a bald and broad outline of this topic yet it does serve to elucidate our purpose and our working hypothesis. It should also be noted that we do not seek to arrive at a final, comprehensive and all-inclusive conclusion at the end of our experiments. We realize the various pitfalls involved in the definitions of the terms "universal", "individualistic" and "communal". But we believe that they ought to be formulated and tested even if the explanatory statements are found to be incomplete. Moreover we are convinced that empirical studies centered on reader response should be conducted for experimenters to improve their methodology and eventually enable the studies in the aesthetics of literature to stand on verifiable and sound grounds.